/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

• 261 262 [177] They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always willing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

* [172] [784]

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they 273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí [164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/163 cont./

273 the odor from afar. In order to avoid reprimands, they hide the bottles on the bottom of the river, from where they remove them when they want to drink their alcoholic contents.

• 261 They are particularly gluttonous over sweets (39);

> 39. The tuxauas, povoado chiefs, themselves appeared satisfied with a piece of candy; and not infrequently even a candy ball is divided up, or it passes through more than one mouth. With some caramels and cigarettes, they considered themselves well paid for the work of letting themselves be measured.

they also appreciate salt very much, and even the bitter salt (sodium sulphate) itself, provided as a medicine. Salt is an article that they are always seeking.

32) /sic/ Ingenuity and cheerfulness.

157 Moreover he possesses an assemblage of natural virtues and enviable qualities. We have already indicated some; let us also point out others. Among the fine qualities of the native one notices his charming ingenuity. Simple, frank, even when he is telling the most disagreeable episodes, and he always does it with terms of the crudest realism. A strangely natural ingenuity in conversation and especially in composure, even when, judging by the previous facts, one is certain that it covers malice.

He is a cheerful individual. He laughs with the greatest of ease, and for any reason whatsoever he bursts out in great, prolonged, and typical hearty laughs. The laugh is not only a response to the ridiculous or to the humorous, but to every pleasant surprise (40).

> 40. An Indian woman, questioned about the reason for so many and such prolonged laughs, explained that it was because they loosen the

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142 oped: heads of the brachycephalic type; though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians customarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

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114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiarí among the *Hehénewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiarí to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes. His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

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The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ilákoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ilákoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *edámiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about
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[1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

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Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

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The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

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Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aũnhokũ* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwũ*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Húbũkokũ* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turú* (poison), another *pudjú* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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From *K'ùwaĩ*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

PRODUCTION

The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake. Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine. It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc production is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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226 nor do all the men fish on the same day. A man who has had no luck one day temporarily loses interest in fishing. He turns to other activities, perhaps to hunting or to making household implements, or he may do nothing. As the season begins to taper off one fisherman after another gives up. The last to stop is the most successful. The Cubeo believe that a dispirited fisherman will catch nothing anyway. [261] When all have stopped fishing the community hungers. After about a week of poor meals the women nag, but the men do not move until 226 they have received a sign. The sign usually comes from the young 857 male play pack. When the men have retired to the maloca to sulk, the youngsters turn their play fully toward the river. They take out canoes, and they set lines along the shore. For this they win immediate praise from the women, who say, "Look, the boys can catch fish but the men cannot." The boys patrol the river. One sights a school of fish and rushes into the house shouting, "The fish are coming." The men run to the bank to see. Then with great hilarity and good-natured pummeling of the boys they take to their canoes and the fishing cycle resumes.

226 Periodically, the routine of individual fishing is interrupted by organized collective fishing parties. The organizer is often the headman, but any man who has a plan will enlist a party. Summer is the season for fishing parties, when fish can be trapped in a shallow pool and stupefied with fish poison. Fishing parties are festive and noisy. The young play pack attends them, and the catch, which may be large, is collective. Each fisherman secures his own catch. When the [183] party returns they distribute the total catch to all households. The distribution, according to an important Cubeo principle, is personal and never anonymous or generalized.

Fishing a shallow pond requires equipment and preparation. One man locates the place and asks his fellows to join him in fishing it. Several, or all, contribute sections of splint fencing that forms the weir. One party undertakes to put up the weir while another manages to gather and prepare fish poison. The men, as always, work efficiently together with a minimum of formal direction. Most have been members of a common play pack so that teamwork is automatic. Each household head has brought his own canoe into which he loads his "own" catch. Some shoot with bow and arrow, others use a dip net, and some thrash about seizing the dulled fish with their hands. Such fishing is never solemn. The men joke, they address each fish, and when they have tired of the sport they stop. A man may take secret pride in his individual catch, but he is expected to behave as though he were lampooning rivalry.

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rel: tion of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land.

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is.

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and shar- [431] ing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 423 614 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahúkiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

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Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

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The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained.

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Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another to mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

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Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of 264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which 262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like, and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster, however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands. The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish 261 what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost 264 daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say, [183] excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote [614] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

264 People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the 522 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh, tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkiwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
768 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable intimacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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261 183 571 431 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes cast upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 183 571 431 522 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 183 571 431 578 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it, [754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the manioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha. Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[2] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the responsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[2] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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the production of farinha by women is a partial counterpart to the work of the men in the rubber forest. The man takes most of his earnings in "capital goods," muzzle-loading guns, machetes, fishhooks, matches, knives, thread, needles, ammunition. The remainder goes to a few vanity items for himself and in gifts for his wife, sister, and female ceremonial friend. It is these gifts that a woman is obligated to reciprocate through her farinha trade. Since these gift exchanges involve traditional relations of status equality they quickly achieve a relatively stable equilibrium. Only a small part, then, of commercial exchange leaves the traditional channels of lateral circulation of goods. As for "vanity" purchases, they form no part of any institutionalized expression of social prestige. The issue for the Cubeo is rather one of a limited degree of self-indulgence. For a woman, in particular, the privilege of indulging a fancy for some trinket and freely contracting her farinha for it is an essential part of her sense of domestic well-being. It is an expression, on the one hand, of her autonomy, and, on the other, of domestic felicity. A dissatisfied wife does not indulge her personal vanity more; on the contrary, she produces less.

Another important element in production is the attitude toward labor. For the Cubeo all effort must be inherently satisfying. Women accept more drudgery than do men, but they no more than the men would accept the bitter peasant philosophy that hard and unrewarding work is man's lot. Men and women alike are accustomed to a variety of effort. They do not care to drive themselves beyond the onset of boredom or of fatigue. All work patterns are based upon short and diversified rhythms. I have demonstrated this in the work cycle of women. It is even more marked in the work cycle of men. Food gathering and preparing does demand continuity and completion. The hunter must complete his chase, the fisherman must return home with a suitable catch, and the housewife must complete her daily ration of manioc cake. Even so, there are many opportunities for rest and diversion that the Indians take. They would rather eat less than work more. In the course of a year there are many holidays. Among the *Bahúkiwa* these averaged almost one a week. On the occasion of a drinking party women do not go into the fields either on the day of preparation or on the day after. In manufactures, which form part of the domestic economy, the pace of work is very slow. Men, who make the baskets that are important home utensils as well as major items in trade, work very sporadically. There is no compulsion to finish something quickly. Thus, on the whole, the Cubeo work habits also contribute to general economic inelasticity.

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There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own 361 state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has 614 been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential 432 ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiarí than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial 614 in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a 433 hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families 574 to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the [421] right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill [431] a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

433 Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources 261 are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol- 574

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ízes the amity of the highly knit sib community; the other, and a related condition, is that the total economic product is divorced from considerations of status and power. Thus, the Cubeo cannot think of economic advantage as a political advantage over others, and, conversely, they cannot regard the economic advantage of others as a threat to their own autonomy. Economic equalization through the various formal channels of distribution is taken for granted. There are no sanctions or techniques deliberately designed to promote equality, but simply provision of sustenance for all persons within the network of kinship and friendship.

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A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep.

FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly.

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the [illegible]. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough.

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly.